UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Gandhi and Garrison

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

American Notes—A Sunday in New York

By SYDNEY STRONG

Korean Students Rise Against Injustice

By CHAI HONG SIM

The Situation in India Today

By L. N. GUPIL

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CV MONDAY, JUNE 2, 1930 NUMBER 14

THE GATES OF THE YEAR
[A Hymn of the Seasons]

Ten thousand thousand glories
  The changing seasons show.
Ten thousand miracles of growth
  Are hid beneath the snow.
Earth's pulse is strongly beating,
  There is a thrill within,—
The gates to Spring are then flung wide,
  New life comes rushing in.

It flows through every seedling,
  Through every plant and tree,
Until the whole world seems to join
  The growing jubilee.
Gay blossoms deck the bushes
Where tight, green buds have been;—
The gates to Summer are flung wide
  To let more beauty in.

And yet more dazzling beauty
  Is spread before our eyes
When cooler winds blow down on us
  From wintry northern skies.
The trees in gold and crimson
  Feign warmth when frosts begin;—
The gates to Autumn are flung wide
  And glory enters in.

Ten thousand thousand glories
  The changing seasons show.
The final miracle is seen
  In crystals of the snow
That, countless, fall in silence
  Upon earth's dust and din;—
The gates to Winter are flung wide
  While quietness steals in.

MARGUERITE EMILIO.

The Gandhi Relief Fund, now being raised by UNITY, has had an encouraging start. Answers to our first appeal were immediate and enthusiastic, and brought in several hundreds of dollars. But we need more, much more, and over a continuing period of time. The first check sent to the Mahatma, for the relief of his imprisoned followers and their families, must be not less than one thousand dollars. Then speedily another check must go forward for the same amount. And so on! Need is great. Women as well as men are being arrested and imprisoned, and recently came the report that flogging has begun. Behind the dark screen of censorship, terrible things are being done. Let us all help!

Is it the doom of democracy to disappear? Is the democratic system disintegrative in its influence, and thus in the end self-destructive. Conservative critics think so, as witness Jowett. Speaking of the citizens of a democracy, he says: "Insolence they term breeding, and anarchy liberty, and waste magnificence, and impudence courage. . . As the result of it all, see how sensitive the citizens become; they chafe impatiently at the least touch of authority, and at length, as you know, they cease to care even for the laws, written or unwritten; they will have no one over them." This is a severe indictment, yet it has a curious ring of truth, and in this country finds abundant illustration. The growing lawlessness of the American people, for example—is it a part of this disintegrative process? Personally, we can never get much excited over the single defiance of law involved in the Prohibition situation—it all seems so natural, so inevitable, so perfectly American! It's only when we pause upon this fact a moment, and see its inner significance—the fact, namely, that the 18th Amendment is violated only because every law that Americans don't like or find inconvenient is violated—that we awake, as it were, and become alarmed. People speak of Prohibition making the nation lawless. Nonsense! Prohibition is only a peculiarly conspicuous situation which reveals, like a surface symptom, a lawlessness already deep-seated as a disease among us. Name any law, outside of the more degrading felonies, which the typical American obeys! The speed limit for automobiles?—it is to laugh. The building, sanitary, or fire codes?—there isn't a provision in all the codes which isn't ignored whenever it pays. The "no smoking," "no spitting" ordinances?—nobody thinks of paying the slightest attention any more. Lawlessness is universal. It begins with our government officials and goes right down through the whole body of our citizenry with laws great and small. This is irritating, disgusting, demoralizing. It means at bottom, and in the end, the disintegration and death of our democracy.

The Labor Cabinet of Britain has done a brave thing in rejecting flatly and fully the Arab demands in London. The Mufti and his companions from Palestine offered their petition with blood upon their hands. Whatever the merits of their general case, the tenor of their specific demand was preposterous. The

Empire might just as well have driven the Jews out of the Holy Land at the point of the sword as to have stopped the sale of Arab lands, shut down on Jewish immigration, and decreed unreserved self-government, in accordance with the Arab plea. Yet MacDonald might have hesitated to flout these Moslems, when millions of their co-religionists in India would be quick to take offense and join hands with Gandhi and his Hindu non-cooperators. The Mufti left London vowing that he would make trouble in India, and within a week there came the first repercussions of his threat. For the aloofness of India's Moslems from Gandhi's struggle for independence has been one of the real weaknesses to the cause. Ten years ago these Moslems, under the lead of the Ali Brothers, were heart and soul with the Mahatma in his campaign, but this year have been hanging back. Now, however, the Moslem hosts are stirring. Despite the censorship, we are hearing of events that forecast the joining of the old Hindu-Moslem unity against Britain. Mohamed Ali is seeking Gandhi in his prison-cell. Bombay Moslems have celebrated a *hartal,* or day of protest, in sympathy with the Arabs of Palestine, and in this Hindus participated with their brethren. "Moslems who for weeks have abstained from the civil disobedience campaign," says a New York newspaper despatch, "now appear to be drawing near the Nationalist leaders through agitation of a cause entirely exterior to India itself—treatment of Moslems in Palestine." We feel sorry for MacDonald. But why this policy of drift? Is it necessary to offend both Jews and Arabs in Palestine, and Hindus and Moslems in India, by doing nothing but utilize armed force to maintain order and keep the peace? There was a time when we associated with MacDonald the idea of statesmanship—and ideals!

The one charge most frequently heard against Gandhi, the one defense most emphatically offered of Britain, in the present crisis in India, is that Britain has offered the method of conference for the settlement of Indian affairs, and Gandhi has refused it. This charge and defense are now being revived in connection with the announcement that the long-delayed report of the Simon Commission is to be published next month, and that some kind of a round-table conference on this report is to be held five months hence, in October next. In view of events passed and of events to come in this connection, let it be said with great definiteness and emphasis that Gandhi was quite ready last year for conference with Britain, and accepted the proposal to "get together." His acceptance, of course, was conditioned on terms alone consistent with the dignity of the Indian people, and with any prospect of accomplishing results. Thus, the Mahatma insisted, as a condition of conference, that amnesty should be granted to political prisoners, for not otherwise could the two parties meet on equal grounds of justice and self-respect. Secondly, Gandhi insisted that the principle of dominion status should be conceded, and the discussion in the conference be limited to a program for its immediate realization. Neither of these conditions were granted—no assurance was given by the Viceroy that they were even being considered. The responsibility for the failure of the conference policy therefore rests upon Britain and not at all upon Gandhi and his Congress associates. The same thing is true of the proposed conference in October, which will also fail. Imagine, in the midst of the present critical situation in India, expecting events to halt during five months for the convenience of the British Cabinet! Imagine proposing conference with the Indian people, with Gandhi and Nehru in prison, and Indian blood flowing daily from the blows of English arms! The report of the Simon Commission may be wise or unwise. It is now too late for it to avail anything in the settlement of Indian affairs.

Some days ago a vast fleet of war vessels came sailing into New York harbor, and now are anchored in a grim line of battle that extends as far north in the Hudson River as Yonkers. Thirty thousand sailors are loose here in the city; tens of thousands of men, women and children are visiting the fleet as guests of the nation; the "Los Angeles" and other dirigibles have been flying over the river and the surrounding countryside in celebration of the great naval fête. As we write, swift squadrons of aeroplanes in battle formation are filling the sky above New York with a thunder which stuns the ears and makes voices inaudible. At this same time the "gold-star" mothers are assembling for their trip to the American cemeteries in France, and the newspapers reek with sentimental mush over these women whose boys were drafted against their will for the business of death in the Great War. In a clipping received in the mail this morning, we read of a military ceremony at Fort Snelling, in Minnesota, for the reception of Hon. Frank B. Kellogg, co-author of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, as an honorary member of the Third United States Infantry, the oldest regiment in the United States army. Our "movies" this week are flashing with military and naval pictures—nothing new, for they are dealing with troops and warships and flags all of the time! The war-game, in other words, is "on" full blast. With calculated efficiency, at just the moment when the London Treaty is being considered by the Senate, the war mania is stirred anew among the people. Why does the government allow itself to be used in this disreputable fashion for such dangerous purposes? Can Frank B. Kellogg find nothing better to do than to receive honors at the hands of men whose profession

of arms he has sought to outlaw as criminal? Is there no way in which our organs of publicity—newspapers, "movies," "talkies"—can be rescued from deviltries to which they are now committed? These are serious questions. The destiny of the world hangs upon their answer!

The revival of a campaign for protection in England sheds a flood of light upon the whole question of what protection is, and why it is. Of course the issue in the British Isles is all mixed up with problems of imperial preference, etc., which means nothing to Americans, but protection itself, as a ways and means of conducting government, still remains clearly defined in the campaign now being launched by Baldwin and his lieutenant, Churchill. It must be remembered that in Britian enormous taxes are imposed upon the moneyed classes. Taxes are heavy enough upon all classes, at least as compared with rates in this country, but upon the rich in the mother country they are terrific. And the worst is yet to come! For Mr. Snowden, in his recent budget speech, promised to open up the land question again, and thus lay heavier burdens than ever upon the owners of great estates. Now all this is agony to the Tories. So sore are these wealthy aristocrats over the way they are being taxed, that recent agitation has threatened to split the party. Of course, they are amply able to pay their taxes—rich men always are. But rich men were not intended to pay taxes! This high privilege belongs to the people! So now Baldwin and Churchill are out on the stump, urging protection duties on imports, and especially taxes on food. How they ever expect to win any popular support for proposals of this kind, we altogether fail to understand. But the point is that these hard-pressed Tories in England are desperately turning to protection as a means of shifting the burden of taxation from the rich to the poor. This is what protection is, dear friends. The happy way of making the common people pay the expenses of government! The rich in this country have got the voters drugged, so that they understand nothing of this issue. Will the "dope" work in England? We doubt it.

The New York theatre has recently recorded the greatest dramatic triumph in many years in the stupendous popular success of Mr. Marc Connelly's play, "The Green Pastures," referred to last week as the winner of the Pulitzer Prize. This modern morality, which revives the simple folk-lore Bible tales of God and Adam and Noah and Moses, is a religious drama in the best sense of the word, and it is packing one of the largest theatres of the metropolis with overflowing audiences while tens of thousands are waiting impatiently in line for their turn to get in. Now this phenomenon, be it noted, has taken place in the very season when the "talkies" have reached the flood-tide of their interest as a new and greater art of the "movie!" These "talkies," we were told, were going to put the spoken drama out of existence. They were going to close the theatres with a competition which could not be met; actors and actresses would swarm to Hollywood, or else abandon their profession altogether; the glory of Sophocles and Terence, Moliere and Lessing, Shakespeare and Shaw would go out at last forever. Yet, if "The Green Pastures" is any sign, the legitimate stage has still today as great a potency as ever. Which confirms us in our judgment that neither the "movie" nor the radio has anything really serious to offer in competition with *personality,* by which we mean the living presence of men infused with great thought and noble poetry! The moving-picture may reach a development of incredible efficiency—but it will interfere with nothing on the stage but what is common and unclean. The radio may broadcast the words of preachers and statesmen, but the great pulpiteer and the eloquent platform orator will never fail for audiences. Personality exerts a magic which no machine can ever supply. Whatever the progress of invention, men will still want to see eye to eye, and feel heart to heart. This is one more proof of the reality of things spiritual.

Gandhi and Garrison

In these days when the attention of the world is irresistibly drawn to India, and the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi are commanding a worldwide interest, it may not come wholly amiss for Americans to remind themselves of the debt of the Indian saint to their own Liberator. We are much given in this country to reproaching ourselves, justly enough, for lack of spirituality. It is perhaps worth while to remember that we too have had our saints and prophets. Standing as we do in the presence of another tremendous movement for human liberty, it is not without interest to point out that the idea with which Gandhi is shaking the very foundations of the British Empire is not a strange new bit of oriental madness, but is the common property of a few choice spirits in all periods of the world's history. We as Americans may well recall our own seer whose thought and whose vision have contributed in some measure to shape the purpose and the methods of the Hindu leader before whom India bows as a saint.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, in his new book, "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas," quotes from J. J. Doke's little-known

work "An Indian Patriot in South Africa" a passage in which Gandhi relates the origin of his idea of non-violence or truth-force. He tells of a Gujarati poem that he learned as a child: "If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing. Real beauty consists in doing good against evil." Even as a child, he says, the verse had a powerful influence on him. Then when he read the Sermon on the Mount: "I was simply overjoyed, and found my own opinion confirmed where I least expected it. The Bhagavad Gita deepened the impression, and Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God Is Within You' gave it a permanent form." Gandhi repeatedly testifies his profound debt to Tolstoy, and in his South African days he regarded himself as Tolstoy's disciple, naming his second colony, it will be recalled, Tolstoy Farm.

It is thus that Gandhi's thought is linked back with the great American apostle of liberty and non-violence; for Tolstoy in turn drew inspiration from Garrison. In his introduction to Tchertkoff and Holah's little life of Garrison Tolstoy says:

"I thank you very much for sending me your biography of Garrison. Reading it, I lived again through the spring of my awakening to true life. While reading Garrison's speeches and articles I vividly recalled to mind the spiritual joy which I experienced twenty years ago, when I found out that the law of non-resistance to which I had inevitably been brought by the recognition of the Christian teaching in its full meaning, and which revealed to me the great joyous ideal to be realized in Christian life—was even as far back as the forties not only recognized and proclaimed by Garrison (about Ballou I learnt later), but also placed by him at the foundation of his practical activity in the emancipation of the slaves. . . .

"Garrison was the first to proclaim this principle as a rule for the organization of the life of men. In this is his great merit. If at the time he did not attain the pacific liberation of the slaves in America, he indicated the way of liberating men in general from the power of brute force.

"Therefore Garrison will forever remain one of the greatest reformers and promoters of true human progress." The line thus runs straight from Garrison through Tolstoy to Gandhi. It is not that Americans would seek to claim credit for the life and thought of Mahatma Gandhi; such an idea would be preposterous. But they may gratefully and humbly claim spiritual kinship with the Indian saint in so far as they accept and live by the teachings of their own prophet, and no farther. Garrison was in great measure without honor in his day; and in our own time, the better part of a century later, his beliefs are still struggling for recognition and for embodiment in the life of our society.

Let us once more set down, then, the principle that Garrison saw so clearly, that Tolstoy in turn accepted, and that Gandhi now seeks to embody in the life of his people and in their relations with the empire that holds them in subjection. In the Declaration of Sentiments that Garrison wrote in 1838 for the newly formed New England Non-Resistant Society we read:

"Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us than are those of the whole human race. . . .

"We conceive, that if a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. . . .

"The history of mankind is crowded with evidences proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful disposition of men can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, that the violent who resort to the sword are destined to perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy—of safety to property, life and liberty—of public quiettude and private enjoyment—as well as on the ground of allegiance to Him who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will ensure all things needful to us, is armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assailing force.

". . . If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work; we shall submit to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; obey all the requirements of government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience."

It is this principle of non-resistance, which Garrison so clearly stated and Tolstoy so completely accepted, that Gandhi has made the basis of his life and the foundation of the campaigns he has waged in both South Africa and India. As Mr. Andrews says: "It is difficult in the West to realize how this has become to him the heart of all religion. It is bound up absolutely in his mind with Truth. He holds that the

truth of all life on this planet and of God Himself is to be found in this principle of the sacredness of life and refusal to use violence." It is no mere negative principle, but demands positive goodness in all relations. The negative view of non-violence, says the Mahatma, has "rendered us insensible to a host of other and more insidious forms of violence, like harsh words, harsh judgments, ill-will, anger, spite, and lust of cruelty; it has made us forget that there may be far more violence in the slow torture of men and animals, the starvation and exploitation to which they are subjected out of selfish greed, the wanton humiliation and oppression of the weak and the killing of their self-respect that we witness all around us today, than in the benevolent taking of life." It is this positive principle of non-resistance that Gandhi is trying today to direct by the perilous method of non-cooperation against the evils of British rule in India. As we at a distance watch the struggle, as we see the failure and the suffering and the outbreaks of violence, perhaps we shall better understand the animating spirit of the struggle if we recall the words of Garrison:

"While we shall adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of God; to assail iniquity, in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing evil, political, legal and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time when the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign forever."

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY.

Jottings

It strikes us that huge consignments of coal are being carried to Newcastle again when the "wets" advertise their anti-Prohibition campaign in the New York newspapers.

Drinking—what is it? The act of a man so spiritually poor that he must seek spirituous stimulation if he is to have any joy of life at all. The man who does not drink is not a pietist, nor a fanatic, nor a defective. He is simply a man whose own inner resources of mind and heart give him all the excitement that he needs.

In the Preface to Conrad Aiken's "Selected Poems," which won the Pulitzer Prize for literature, we read:

> "One poem, Goya, is here printed as verse for the first time, having previously appeared only as a prose passage in my novel, Blue Voyage."

Here is a supreme indictment of contemporary literary styles. When prose and poetry can be printed interchangeably as poetry and prose, we are certain that the poetry is not poetry, nor the prose, prose.

David Kirkwood, M. P., a member of the British Labor Party, speaking recently in the House of Commons, said "he could not see any difference between the part the Laborite Secretary for India is playing now and that which the Tory of Tories, Lord Birkenhead, would have played if he had been on the job." Americans, similarly troubled, are glad to find that their troubles are shared by Englishmen!

It is not difficult in this world to imagine incongruities. But it is difficult to imagine a more tragic incongruity than the spectacle of President Hoover, the Quaker, reviewing a parade of U. S. battleships.

"Gandhi in jail is an enviable figure when compared with Ramsay MacDonald sitting in Downing Street."—*The Christian Century* (May 21st).

Amen! And Amen!! J. H. H.

Parables of War and Peace

IX
Dying and Killing

"What's the fuss?"

I was standing in Trafalgar Square, looking over the heads of a vast crowd of people toward the Nelson monument. The air was alive with shouts and songs. Men and women were waving banners, flinging hats and caps aloft, hugging one another in a delirium of delight. Far away, by one of the great Landseer lions, I descried a man in uniform, gayly bedecked with ribbons and medals, who seemed to be the focal point of enthusiasm.

"What's the fuss?" I repeated, to a howling maniac at my side.

"The fuss!" He croaked hoarsely, in undisguised amazement, "Aint you 'eard? That's 'im—the 'ero of the war."

"The hero of the war," I exclaimed! "That man on the monument? Why I thought the hero of the war was the Unknown Soldier down there in Whitehall under the cenotaph."

"What 'im? The Unknown Soldier, 'im the 'ero? W'y, we don't know 'im. 'E's dead, 'e is. Died som'ers——nobody knows w'ere! But this feller! w'y, he killed eighteen Germans with 'is own 'ands, he did. *Killed* 'em, ev'ry damned one. 'E's the 'ero of the war! Look at 'im! H'rra-a! H'rra-a!!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

American Notes

A Sunday in New York

I believe in the Church for the same reason that I believe in monogamy. Show me something better! Until then ..... I stay in the boat. Consequently, this morning, I went to hear one of my favorite preachers, Mr. Holmes at Community Church. He spoke on some of the "Evils Done by Present-Day Psychology." His words were as the "faithful wounds of a friend." He quickly granted that modern psychology had contributed one of the most important chapters for human betterment during the past fifty years. *But*—in at least three respects it had done evil! (1) Where it had been materialistic. Very strongly put! (2) Where it had committed an old error of leading devotees to engage in the job of saving their own miserable souls. (3) Where, also, it had drawn the public mind off from sociology, from social justice, and its kind. No one any more seems to be interested in unemployment, in slums, in the abolition of war, in vast social problems. The public mind has been diverted. The new psychology is chiefly to blame. The congregation watched the preacher like a cat watches a hole—never knowing when the rat may come out. And they went down to their houses strengthened.

The afternoon found me in the West Side Unitarian Church, to witness the Installation Service of the new pastor, Rev. Lon Ray Call. The church is on West 110 Street, just off Broadway. It is in the heart of Columbia University. The new pastor can turn to the East and see Dr. Manning, and to the West and see Dr. Fosdick, which should put him in the position of the golden mean.

There was a processional hymn—to the tune of "Onward, Christian Soldiers"—and in filed up the aisle on to the platform several gowned men, ready for the service. Rev. Minot Simons, of All Souls Church, read a portion of the Aprocryphal Scripture—that bridge between the Old and New Testaments—on the celebration of Wisdom. Rev. John Haynes Holmes's part came next—a Charge to the Minister and Congregation. He felicitously likened the occasion to that of a marriage, and emphasized the virtues of such a relation that were necessary to happiness—among these being faithfulness, stability, a single ambition. He playfully enjoined the newcomer to New York to take a good look at the men on the platform, for he might never see them again, as the vineyard was so large, and the workers so busy!

Mr. Sumner Burritt Stiles, layman (I thought of Charles Sumner and Elihu Burritt when I saw the name), spoke for the congregation, formally extending an invitation to Mr. Call to become their minister; whereupon, the new minister replied, repeating some of the principles for which the church stood. Rev. Charles Rhind Joy extended a Greeting from the American Association of Unitarian Churches, in which he emphasized "Others" as being the key to power and happiness.

Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick then spoke for the "Wider Fellowship." He said that he was pastor of a church just "around the corner." He remarked that he was reminded that "Mr. Call was the third Baptist minister to come to this West Side Church.

Rev. Curtis Williford Reese from Lincoln Centre, Chicago, after a pleasant greeting to the new minister from the Metropolitan Conference, by Mr. Charles Bolte, gave the principal address. He remarked that he was sorely tempted to lay aside his formal address and indulge in reminiscences, for had not he and Mr. Call been comrades in the same Southern Baptist college? And, speaking of Baptists, he added, "I had two grandfathers—Southern Baptist ministers. Two uncles, Southern Baptist ministers. Two brothers, Southern Baptist ministers, and when I had a brother-in-law who was a Southern Baptist minister, I concluded that there were too many Southern Baptist ministers in the family!" Mr. Reese's address was a favorable presentation of Humanism. It was a scholarly effort. As he stood there, his gown, with its touch of red, along with his intellectual face, would lead a stranger to conclude that he came from Cambridge, rather than Chicago. And yet Chicago is no mean city, as Mr. Reese and Ambassador Dawes emphatically hold! Mr. Reese contrasted Humanism with Materialism and Theism, to both of which he held Humanism to be superior. Humanism did several things: It put man in his proper place in the evolutionary organism; it put human nature at the center, as man is the measure of all things; it aimed to make man the determiner of his own destiny; it did not run off into the errors of transcendentalism; it labored for the interests of real values; it aimed to include the whole of life.

After the service there was a general congratulation of the new minister and wife, who certainly are located in an important place in the world. I had the pleasure of speaking to the "minister's wife"—there are no better women in the world than ministers' wives! Unless it be some woman like Anna Garlin Spencer who graced the occasion, and should have been on the platform, red-trimmed gown and all. After the service I fell into conversation with my seatmate. I commented on the number of Baptist ministers who had entered into the ministry of this one church. Why is this? It is the same of my own church—the Congregational. We are not producing our own ministers. What kind of a sign is this? I pass the question on to my readers.

This evening, while sitting in my little upper room, in quiet New York, I picked up a sermon by John Howland Lathrop that had come to me the day before. It was on "The Meaning of a Great Word." That word was "God." I could not lay the sermon down until I had reached the end. It was so sensible, plain and national. He referred to five things that he found in the word "God." He found in the word confidence in the universe. He found belief in human worth. He found the secret of moral confidence. He found creative power. Lastly, the word God means to me the secret of happiness. That is a good sermon. It completed the thoughts of the day, filling in where something might be lacking. I think that Dr. Lathrop —Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.—would be pleased to send anyone a copy who might ask for it.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Korean Students Rise Against Injustice

The theory that only the strong can survive may be true with animals, but in the case of the human being it is not true. It is not because even a strong nation may be conquered by a stronger, and the stronger, by the strongest, but because they usually ruin themselves by misusing their powers, many of which are menaces to the moral culture of their society. The fall of the mighty Roman Empire, for example, was due to the extreme degeneration of their moral life rather than by the invaders from the north. It is also because man has a particular quality called soul, which cannot be controlled by any force or oppression whatever. The human soul never dies nor can be killed; it gets gradually refreshed and strengthened as time rolls on. It is inherent and unique in mankind, pure and noble in nature, and universally alike with men of all times. It ennobles and enlightens the nature of man, and always leads him fearlessly into righteousness, truth, and justice, even though a shower of bullets or a thicket of electric wires may block its way.

Of all the beautiful qualities of the human soul the desire for freedom seems to be most outstanding and conspicuous. But for this, America could have never secured her independence from England, and Poland, her ancient glory from the mouths of the three hungry neighbors. Today we still find many peoples under the heavy yoke of the stronger ones, but their soul is not subjected. The oppressor can do nothing but inflict physical pains; he cannot torture the soul of the oppressed.

People who take advantage of the weak will never get rid of the opposition and eternal curse of the latter. Such is the case with Japan at present. Ever since she made a forced annexation with Korea in 1907 there has been a continuous movement for independence on the part of the Korean people, especially of the intellectual class, both at home and abroad. Japan's seizure of the natural resources, her policy of intellectual strangulation, and her unbearable oppression in Korea were the direct causes of the great national uprising of the Korean people in 1919, when thousands of innocent men, women and children paid with blood. In this desperate independence movement the number of Christians and students predominated, and they demanded from the Japanese liberty and equality of human rights. Massacres of the Koreans by the Japanese soldiers and gendarmes were witnessed everywhere in Korea; farmers were shot on fields, churches were burnt down with the congregation inside, and students were afflicted so much with pain at the police headquarters and prisons that many of them committed suicide. Thus Japan seemed to possess no head to control this human protest against her imperialism; the best method they could find to calm it was by using swords and bullets. They did not quite understand that this national uprising was the inevitable outcome of the various functions of their arbitrary control over Korea which they had usurped so impudently.

It was also due to Japan's autocratic, oppressive, and unjust administration over the Korean students as a whole that another big movement broke out on October 30, 1929. The direct cause of this uprising was one of the countless cases showing the discrimination of the Japanese authority between Koreans and the Japanese in Korea. The writer hopes and believes that the readers of this short article will visualize in their minds how the actual situation of the Korean people must be under the Japanese rule. He, as a Korean student, desires also the clear and sympathetic understanding of the American public for the following report.

One afternoon at the railroad station of La-ju, a town from which many high school students, both Korean and Japanese, commute to schools at Kwang-ju, capital of South Chulla province, three Japanese students, headed by one named Fukuda, started annoying a Korean girl student. At this time there were two Korean students, who, resenting this vulgar action of the Japanese students, denounced their guilt and demanded an apology of the Japanese. The Japanese students, instead of an apology, brought a worse disgrace on their part to start a fight. A Japanese policeman came to the scene, but without even trying to ask the cause of the trouble, sided with the Japanese, and struck the Korean student. The Korean student whose name was Park, went home suppressing his resentment. When Park met Fukuda on the train next morning, the former again demanded an apology of the latter for the insult he had given to the Korean girl the day before. The Japanese student again refused, challenging a prolonged fight, when the conductor, a Japanese, interrupted and greatly insulted Park.

The unjust action of the Japanese policeman and conductor produced an intolerable resentment in the minds of Park's friends. A furious fight eventually broke out a few days later between ten Korean and twelve Japanese students with reinforcements steadily added on both sides. This time the entire police force of the Japanese moved to the scene and arrested only Korean students. Against this treatment of discrimination the entire Korean student body and populace of the city of Kwang-ju rose on December 12th and staged a fierce demonstration. The main thoroughfares of that city were reported to have been turned into bloody battlegrounds between Koreans and Japanese. A cable from Shanghai recently announced that seventy-eight Korean students were killed and many more were wounded and arrested.

This news soon spread over the entire peninsula, kindling the nationistic sentiment of the student population of Korea and driving them into a turmoil. Seoul, the national capital, was the center of this movement; over forty-thousand copies of printed matter, demanding the immediate release of the arrested in Kwang-ju and protesting against the Japanese rule in Korea, were distributed by hundreds of students and members of various nationistic bodies. One after another, high schools and colleges went on a sympathetic strike until the biggest demonstration took place on December 9th, when a combined group of students of different schools started a parade, shouting, "Ten thousand years for Korea!!" The Japanese police, being afraid of the nationalistic uprising of 1919, arrested more than twelve hundred students in a single day.

By this time the movement was no longer of students alone; nationalistic bodies throughout the country also were secretly planning to start a second inde-

pendence movement. The police, sensing this immediate situation like a hound, began a series of raids on the headquarters of these groups of patriotic people and on their private homes, arresting, as a result, many of the influential men, some of whom are the graduates of both American and European universities. Recent reports from Korea indicate that the arrested number of these patriots and students increases so rapidly from day to day that the police and prison cells can no longer accommodate them, and that the storage rooms of the Oriental Development Company, a powerful semi-governmental financial institution, are now being used for the same purpose.

So far is my report on the nationalistic movement of the Korean students and patriots that broke out last October and is still active against the arbitrary reign of the Japanese. The writer, however, cannot help adding a few more words about how these simple and innocent Koreans are constantly becoming the victims of the cruel and imperialistic Japan.

If the arrested is a boy, they usually whip him until he faints, and no sooner does he recover his sense, after having cold water poured upon his face, than they proceed with the same punishment. In some cases he is hung under the ceiling by the feet, and into his nostrils they pour boiling water. In the case of a girl, they slap her cheeks and pull and push her violently by the head. But what is worse, they often force her to undress and to appear before them entirely naked.* Here every one can easily see that, although the Japanese count themselves as one of the civilized peoples today, they have not yet got beyond their barbarous stage. It needs a book to mention all of dirty and humiliating types of punishment that the Japanese inflict upon the Korean people, especially upon the young generation, but let it suffice to say that most of the arrested are killed during the course of trial, and those few who are released afterward either die or become insane from the after-effect of the severe punishment.

By those measures which I have mentioned Japan tries in vain to Japanize Koreans, whose history is longer than hers. In the golden days of Asia Korea was one of the torch-bearers, and today she suffers under the modern firearms of Japan. But is she to suffer forever? God will not forsake her for she is producing many good followers of Jesus Christ and in every mind of the twenty million people the blood bubbles with the consciousness that they will fight to the last man for their freedom and human rights.

CHAI HONG SIM.

*For further information consult chapter two of Mr. Hugh Heung-Wo Cynn's "The Rebirth of Korea."

The Situation in India Today

(Special Correspondence from India)

India is passing through a very critical stage in her history. The one problem which agitates the minds of thoughtful people is that of Mahatma Gandhi's campaign against salt tax. Mr. Gandhi commands a wonderful influence with the masses by his magnetic personality which inspires in everyone a love of honesty, nobility and sterling character. His is the only name that is spoken today everywhere. His present activity has excited public interest to an extent to which few political acts have done in recent times. This movement is not confined to a district or a province but extends to the whole of the seashore of the soil. Manufacture of salt takes place everywhere in contravention to the laws of the land, in spite of some acts of repression by the authorities concerned. In certain places magistrates have issued communiques prohibiting people from manufacturing salt and warning them of the consequences of such acts. Still the agitation has taken a strong hold and people of all shades of political opinion belonging to different caste, creed, and races have joined this movement. It should be stated that the government have not arrested or taken action against all the law-breakers but only against the few of them. It is not easy to speculate what line of action the state will take hereafter. Today Mr. Jawarlal Nehru, the President of the Indian National Congress, has been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment for disobeying the act. Mr. Sen Gupta, the Lord Mayor of Calcutta, has been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. Mr. Baja, Treasurer of the Congress, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Daily arrests are taking place and after an inquiry the volunteers are convicted.

In my own city yesterday a batch of one hundred volunteers started to Vedaranyam in the Tanjore District under the leadership of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the lieutenant of Mr. Gandhi, to manufacture salt. The Collector of Tanjore, Mr. Thorn, I. C. S., has issued a communique prohibiting people from giving any assistance to the volunteers, disobediance to the orders being liable to be visited with an imprisonment for six months.

Everywhere in India the first problem for the present is the salt tax. The question is, who will succeed —Mr. Gandhi or the government? All are watching with interest the progress of events. Secondly, the resignation of Nationalists from legislatures is a great handicap to the government. Thirdly, the foreign cloth boycott campaign of Malavayya is taking deep root, and has reflected on the tradesmen of Lancashire and Manchester. Fourthly, the G. I. P. Railway strike and the other railway strikes are matters of vital importance. Fifthly, the Sarada Act is in the minds of everyone who want it to be repealed. There are very many other things which are of minor importance. Nobody knows what would happen, but until and unless the government, with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as its leader, come to amicable terms with Mr. Gandhi in finding a proper solution, which is no less than self-government for India, events in India may not be smooth. There is great danger ahead and men are prepared to fight, for without suffering nothing is gained. We watch with interest the future developments.

L. N. GUPIL.

Flogging in India

Troops Flog the Disobedient

Bombay, May 18 (Canadian Press).—In Sholapur the troops have adopted *a standing method of procedure where their orders are disobeyed: first a warning, in case ignorance is responsible; then a system of reporting to police stations; then, if this proves no deterrent, floggings, under the eye of a military tribunal.* Many wanted persons have been arrested, and most will be given civil trial in the regular course by the Bombay Government. *New York Times, May 19.*

The above report is very significant and terrible. This indicates that the British authorities *have adopted the method of unrestricted torture of Indian non-co-operators,* who are not criminals, but political offenders who refuse to adopt violent methods. This is a little worse than the methods adopted by the Czarist Government against the Russian liberals and political offenders. It has only one parallel. *The British regard all Indians as their chattel slaves, who must serve British interests.* As the chattel slaves of Great Britain and America, during the days of legalized slavery, used to be flogged because they disobeyed their masters, the British Government—the British Labor Government under Ramsay MacDonald—has revived the methods of torture of British slave-drivers of the past. This method has been adopted to strike terror to the hearts of all followers of Gandhi and Indian non-co-operators.

Flogging and torture of political prisoners are the standing orders of the day in British India! This is the glory of the British administration in India, under the most liberal of British political parties. Are the American friends of the British Labor. Party and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald willing to approve this new standing order of torture of Indian Political offenders by keeping their continued silence of approval?

If they do not approve the British Reign of Terror in India, they should protest against it in unmistakable terms. Will they do it now?

TARAKNATH DAS.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Soliloquy in a Sweatshop

It's good to see a strip o' sky
Show through the smoke an' grime an' dust.
It's good to heave a little sigh
When you sort o' feel you must.

It's good to have some space between
That roof-top there, and ours—
Some place that looks a little clean
And makes you think o' flowers.

To see it helps us bear our task;
It makes the slums and country kin.
O God, it isn't much we ask—
Don't let the roof-tops close us in.

SEYMOUR G. LINK.

Church Advertisement: "Welcome, Stranger!"

Why are these walls here? To keep you out,
Stranger, Stranger.
We can't have foreigners hanging about,
You, with your shawls and your horrible shoes,
Smelling us out of respectable pews.
Down in your slums there are missions to use.

Why are these walls here? To keep you down,
Stranger, Stranger,
You, with your black skin, yellow or brown.
We must uphold our superior race,
Mixing with "darkies" would make us lose face.
You are a servant,—so stay in your place.

EMILY TAYLOR PERKINS.

Neanderthal

The electric chair
Is a Neanderthal monster
That crouches in the death chamber
Waiting for its victim.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD.

—Two Men—

In 1835 John and Jim robbed a store in Georgia and killed a man in making their getaway.
John was caught and hanged . . . his ancestors never mention his name . . . he has no tombstone . . .
Jim fled to Texas and fought the Mexicans, dying at Goliad . . . his ancestors are proud of him . . . he has a monument.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD.

Accusation

Lay this against
The faint of heart—
Who in the dawn glow
Would depart,

Fearing chill
In the early air—
Lay it against them
That despair

Shuts their eyes
To the mounting sun,
Before the gaunt hills
Have begun

Their affirmations.
Let them go
Who have served life
Their puny "No!"

Who have turned molewise
From the day—
Let them be gone
Their cringing way.

The chilly dusk
Will not concede
Its coolness to their
Quilted need;

Not the moon glow
Less brilliantly
Because they are not
There to see.

FLORA J. ARNSTEIN.

INDIA'S NEW NATIONAL FLAG

Reverend J. T. Sunderland, always thoughtful of UNITY, sends the following:

India's new National Flag is red, white and green. It is interesting to note that it has the same colors as the flag of Garibaldi devised for a united and free Italy, of which Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote:

"Red, for the patriot's blood,
Green, for the martyr's crown,
White, for the dew and the rime,
When the morning of God comes down."

Non-Violence v. Cowardice

Dr. Hardiker sends me an account of an assault said to have been committed on the 31st of July last at Bagalkot on some volunteers of the Hindustani Seva Dal. The volunteers were distributing handbills and marching with their bands playing without noticing a mosque which could not be seen as it was situated on a low level. The band continued to play even when they had approached it. Enraged men inside the mosque therefore came out and are alleged to have assaulted the volunteers with stones, sticks, pickaxes and other tools. The volunteers, according to the description given by Dr. Hardiker, apologized for the mistake that was unconsciously made, but the assault was continued. The volunteers, however, never retaliated. They decided also not to conduct any legal proceedings. The question is whether this restraint could be called non-violent or cowardly. In my opinion, here there is no question of cowardice. The volunteers would have been cowardly if they had run away. On the contrary, they are stated to have stood their ground and suffered the assault without retaliation at any stage. Non-violence and cowardice are contradictory terms. Non-violence is the greatest virtue, cowardice the greatest vice. Non-violence springs from love, cowardice from hate. Non-violence always suffers, cowardice would always inflict suffering. Perfect non-violence is the highest bravery. Non-violent conduct is never demoralizing, cowardice always is. I can detect no cowardice in the conduct of the volunteers. No one claims the highest form of bravery for them. The assault, it is said, was so brutal that some Musalman women who were near by expostulated with the assaulters for continuing their assault in spite of the apology that was tendered. If the facts are as they are related, in my opinion the conduct of the volunteers was exemplary and strictly non-violent in terms of the Congress creed. Opinions may differ as to the propriety of such conduct, but there can be no two opinions about the bravery of the volunteers. It is undoubtedly in keeping with the creed that no court proceedings have been taken by the injured parties. My own conviction is that the more the volunteers learn the law of suffering bravely and consciously, the greater will be their efficiency for service when the critical time comes.—*M. K. Gandhi, in Young India.*

Hard Head: Soft Heart

"Wait on the Eternal; again I say, wait."

The other night two good friends, the one a minister of religion, the other a man of business, had a long heart-to-heart, head-to-head talk together. The man of affairs, a provision merchant as it happened, got to telling the man of religion his dream of the future. "I see a time coming," he said, "when through the discoveries of modern science, in physics and chemistry chiefly, it will be as easy for the whole human race to provision itself with all the necessaries of life as it now is for the South Sea Islanders and other dwellers in tropical climates: they will just step out into the back yard and eat their fill of the fruits of the earth,—such fruits as in their season drop their own seeds onto the fertile ground to grow there against the next season's need. No planting, no cultivating, no harvesting and gathering into barns. "Then," he added, with the look of the dreamer in his face, "then the human soul can advance along its natural lines, producing great works of art, a great literature, and in general establishing a commonwealth of beauty, justice, love on this earth."

"But *will* they?" replied the minister of religion. "Can human nature be depended upon to achieve this noble destiny, to make this dream come true? *Are* these its natural lines, as you say? Under these conditions you describe as so ideal would not the whole human race in actual fact degenerate, physically and mentally; —victims like the South Sea Islanders of the diseases of mind and body which everywhere afflict the idlers of the world?"

To anyone who did not know these two friends this would have seemed a strange outcome of their heart-to-heart, head-to-head talk together, an outcome hardly to have been foreseen. The one, the supposedly hard-hearted, matter-of-fact man of Big Business,—full of confidence in human nature and in its will, once given a fair chance, to build a heaven on this solid earth; the other, supposedly too soft-hearted, impractical dreamer,—doubtful of human nature and at best only hoping as it were against hope that his friend's dream may come true. But anyone who does know them will tell you that the difference between these two is not, as might be supposed, that the one is credulous, whereas the other is cynical and sceptical of human nature. The difference lies deeper than that in their own human nature, in what for want of a

better word is called "temperament." They both want to see humanity put to the test. They both want the human race to make of the whole earth a fruitful place to live on, and a peaceful habitation. But the one is deliberate, patient, willing to wait for this heaven on earth and, while waiting, to work even in his provision business for its coming. The other is eager, impetuous, anxious; anxious for the outcome, eager to see the experiment tried—not later than tomorrow morning—before humanity has degenerated any lower than it now is; impetuous, for he sees danger in his friend's policy of watchful waiting. The latter, as he sought his couch late that night, silently, thoughtfully, considered in his heart the words of Theodore Parker spoken to a friend who sat by his death-bed: "Well, dear friend," he said, "I guess the trouble with me is that I am in a hurry and God isn't!"

Which of these two temperaments, think you, is going to save humanity from destruction and build a Commonwealth of comfort and justice and love on this earth? The man who hurries, as one who would overleap the centuries ahead, or the man who plods along, seeming stolid, but never once losing sight of the heaven-like vision ahead? May it not be possible for these two kinds of men everywhere,—for all men fall into one or the other class—to be friends and though antipodal in their temperaments, yet work together toward the same purpose of covering the whole earth with comfort, justice, love? We like to think such united action of all who wish humanity well *is* possible. And the spirit in which these two friends communed together that night encourages us to cherish this great hope: that one day all men of whatever class will co-operate to bring about this desired end. Perhaps this is what the economists mean by that high-sounding phrase, the "Co-operative Commonwealth." What else *can* they mean?

FRANK C. DOAN.

The Study Table

Powys on Culture

Fresh from the reading of that most amazing 1,000-page novel, "Wolf-Solent," a novel which belongs to the class of Hardy and Dostoevsky, I turned to the still more recent volume* by the same powerful, versatile writer. If, as already intimated, "Wolf-Solent" is fascinating, in its uncanny, unraveling of a soul, its sweeping touches of beauty, mixed with terror, we must say something entirely different but equally approving of "The Meaning of Culture." The title is good, but the contents are ten times better.

In these days of religious crash, when everything is being pretty well upheaved by the roots, when theological Montagues and Capulets are drawing swords on each other at the corner of almost every street, when science has reduced the soul of man to a gland, and his place in the great cosmos to a zero with the rim knocked off, it is rather thrilling, refreshing, to meet John Cowper Powys. Here is a doughty agnostic, a mystic, a poet, a dreamer, but a translucent thinker, who offers to us a culture as a substitute for religion, a culture which in many places is indistinguishable from religion. To quote a line from a well-known hymn, "The Meaning of Culture," is "manna to the hungry soul." It opens a gateway through which the starved, battle-weary, from the camps of rationalism, Fundamentalism or Modernism may get a new slant on life without the sacrifice of any mental integrity. As the jacket says, "it opens vistas."

That Mr. Powys does not mean a culture which is purely of the academic type is clearly indicated by a quotation which we find in the preface, where culture is defined as follows: "Culture is that which you have left over after you have forgotten all you have definitely set out to learn." It must also be understood that this culture has nothing to do with the kultur of a nation or continent. In this instance it is to be considered apart from other achievements of the mind, at the same time it has special reference to our chaotic times in which the individual, lost in the mass or enslaved by machines is trying to save the dregs of his personality. The attitude taken is positive and constructive. The writer feels (and we agree with him) that rather than make an onslaught upon the stupidities and obscurantism of our day, he will weld into this culture such good bricks as he may find in the pile of rubbish deposited by the centuries.

The book is well divided into two parts. Part one contains "The Analysis of Culture," and shows what culture is, as the author conceives it, in relation to philosophy, literature, poetry, painting, religion. Lack of space prevents us from doing anything like justice to these five chapters, but the first and the last of those named are rich with suggestion, which will perhaps have a larger appeal, although all are fine.

In the one on "Philosophy," we are urged to some sort of originality to make it all our own. Not so much read, as feel, philosophy. This philosophy must find "some constantly recurring substitute for what, traditionally, is known as prayer; and for the philosophic mind nothing can serve this purpose but a lonely, worldless, one-sided dialog with the mystery of mysteries." The philosophic attitude to the universe is to be one of "intense gratitude and intense defiance."

In the chapter on "Religion," he entirely dissents from those who claim that "a cultivated person can get nothing from religion unless he wholly believes, and nothing from reason unless he wholly disbelieves." He urges, and with a good show of reason, that one of the great problems of religion viewed from the human situation is "how far it is possible to retain for individual lives, in the midst of the breaking up of the old traditions, those overtones or undertones of character which the long discipline of the centuries, under the scaffolding of a unified faith, has so laboriously nourished." Fundamentally, the values of re-

*The Meaning of Culture. John Cowper Powys. Published by W. W. Norton & Co., Inc.

ligion do not hang on a theological system. They belong to the psychic, emotional, poetical part of us. That is to say that amid all the rubbish which must be discarded by the true skeptic, there are things of human worth expressed in and by ritual, symbol, and even at the heart of outworn creeds. This is a chapter to be read by every religious liberal and thoroughgoing Humanist.

Part two deals with "The Application of Culture." We can do little more than cite chapter titles. "Culture and Happiness," "Obstacles to Culture," "Culture and Love," "Culture and Nature," "Culture and Art of Reading," "Culture and Human Relations," "Culture and Destiny." Doubtless readers will be most interested in the chapter which appeals to them. All are important and exquisitely written. The viewpoint in every case is so fresh. It stands apart from the common ruck of thinking. If we may say a word on one chapter with a special appeal to the young, it is the one with regard to the art of reading. What culture is concerned with in the matter of reading is not agreement but "a certain stimulation of one's imaginative reaction to life." The writer who can make the sunset more of a surprise, the moon more of a miracle, the tragedy of the generations, the divinity of common earth, and "the night a palpable god," he is the one who ministers to our culture.

Already I see the editorial pencil with menacing attitude, but a word must be given to "Culture and Nature." Here is a chapter from which we might quote at length, and it is difficult to give the substance in a word. The great test of culture is, in the last thought, one's sensitivity to the life of the earth. No refining in art or literature, no sharpening of powers in science or psychology can take its place. The conscious use we make of memory in regard to Nature "gives weight and poignancy to what we feel at the moment." And it is here that the great poets come in, Homer, Virgil, Wordsworth. The integral self must be so rapport with nature that such a state becomes ultimately automatic. Mr. Powys, as his readers well know, practices what he preaches in this regard. He loves nature. He responds to it. He knows its tumults and its healing balm, and perhaps in no time of the world's history did man need more to "look" as Wordsworth says, "on nature not as in the hour of thoughtless youth."

Mr. Powys has written a great book, a book which will endure. It is written with the modesty of a man who does not wish to impose a culture, but rather it is one who seems to have lived it, and gives it for what it is worth. It is not a book to be read once, then put away with, "Well, now I have read that." Such an one has never grasped the grandeur of the thing, the challenge, the stimulus, the illumination of it. Those who have read it understandingly will take it down again and again, and re-read it, "sink into their own souls" and invite them to a larger, richer life.

HENRY JAMES ADLARD.

Correspondence

Mr. Das and India

Editor of UNITY:

Dear Sir: It was rather an unfortunate moment for Taraknath Das to say in his review of Professor Hull's book "India's Present Crisis," that there were in India "more ardent champions of the cause of Indian independence (than Gandhi)"; and especially to say men "who would play a more important part in the (present) drama than the Mahatma himself." Mr. Das names three of the younger Indians whom he feels to be the leaders of the future, one, the President of the present National Congress; and he may be right. However, it would have been nearer the facts to have added,—if and when Gandhi goes!

Some of us are glad to have heard Syud Hossain on the Indian situation, with an entirely opposite point of view, more especially as another Indian, sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association of New York, has been assuring Boston folks that it is violence, and violence alone that will free India. It really seems as though an American must try to put before these misleading publicists the point they seem to have missed.

There is a phrase that is full of meat, to the effect that the wise man finds out what the opposition wishes him to do, and then *refuses* to do it. By that token the Mahatma is the wisest as well as the "greatest man in the world today," as Mr. Holmes told us long ago. Gandhi put out of consideration the weapon of physical force which England wanted India to use,—for the simple reason that she was accustomed to win with it, and was prepared to the limit for using it—and took in hand the "sword of the spirit," with which as the New York World said recently, "he had morally disarmed the British." For in the field of non-violence, the Westerners can neither use nor parry the weapon that can be so admirably used on the plane of the spirit. . . . By the same token, the British are the reverse of wise, because, knowing what Gandhi wished them to do, namely to arrest him, they *acceded* to his oft-expressed desire!

Gandhi not long since sent a message to the American people (as far as I know it was not printed in any Boston paper) in which he asserted that—and he interpolated, "I say this with the utmost humility"—if India secured her freedom by means of non-violent resistance and civil disobedience, he would be seen to have a message for the whole world. Equally with my desire that a great people should be free, I am concerned in mind and heart that the whole world should be freed from the stupid, immoral and above all, *futile* method of settling troubles and disputes by mass murder, long euphemistically characterized as war. The paragraph quoted in the same issue of UNITY from Upton Close, to the effect that Gandhi was the "greatest of the nation-makers of Asia, because he would sacrifice his nation's hope of independence rather than commit one act of violence or chicanery to attain it," ought to have rebuked Mr. Das, it seems to me. But, the first line of Mr. Holmes' editorial, which read, "Never was Mahatma Gandhi a greater leader of men than at this moment when he is conducting his march . . . for independence,"—surely this might serve to give him pause. I have no doubt he is right as to the power of the Youth movement; but—who, I ask, is responsible for the Youth movement? When did the "new consciousness" dawn on India? Was it not in 1913 when Gandhi returned from his successes in South Africa? If India is to be free, say I, it is because God is on the side of *his "peaceful"* battalions!

CAROLINE B. TOWNER.

Brighton, Mass.

A Challenge
To the *National Defense Magazine*

Editor of UNITY:

If, by some strange and horrible hand of fate, a course in the Science and Technique of Murder should be installed and authorized at the University of Chicago, and a group of students believing in the Ten Commandments should hold a protest meeting, the city gangsters would undoubtedly rise in hot defense of their institution. Undoubtedly their official publication would contain an article

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Where Is the New Spirit?

Churches Disillusioned by Naval Conference Says
Rev. F. W. Norwood, D. D.
(*City Temple, London*)

There is depression in the churches over the meagre results of the Naval Conference. There is no disposition to disparage them, but there is growing up a body of opinion which will not be fobbed off by cheerful assurances that all is well, since certain economies have been secured, and certain ships due ere long to be scrapped, are to be scrapped a little earlier, while others likely to have been built are not now to be built at all.

Neither will the much-trumpeted agreement with the United States on a basis of parity arouse much enthusiasm, since everybody knows that parity is rather a concession on the part of America than a beau geste on the part of Britain, and everybody can see that to secure this parity America must build more ships and any scrapping will be spectacular rather than real.

The churches will make reasonable allowances for the amazing difficulties in the way of the Conference. They have noted quite definitely that it was the position of France and Italy which made a big result impossible. They will want the Three-Power Pact to stand, for whatever it is worth.

But the statesmen of today will yet have to learn that in religious circles there is a well-defined peace policy which is far ahead of current political practice.

Its basic idea is that disarmament, or even radical reductions of armaments, is not possible by such methods as those of the recent Naval Conference and all its predecessors. It knows beforehand that the results will be poor. It expects a little advance in the way of economy. But with a post-war trail of Conferences, such as Washington, Locarno, Geneva, and now London for its instructions, it sees no need to apologize for its scepticism. It will take what it can get in the way of reduction, but it has grown rather weary of hailing men as saviours who cut a little bit more off the world's most egregious extravagance, but leave the war system as strongly entrenched as ever.

What made the churches a little more enthusiastic over this last Conference than on previous occasions was the belief that it was being undertaken in a new spirit.

For this they had the highest warrant. In a joint statement by the British Prime Minister and the American President, it was said that the Rapidan conversations had been carried on:

"In the light of the situation created by the signing of the Peace Pact."

"That distrusts and suspicions arising from doubts and fears, which may have been justified before the Peace Pact, must now cease to influence national policy."

"We approach old historical problems from a new angle and in a new atmosphere."

The churches had a right to take this statement as authoritative, and now, looking back upon the Conference, to feel that they have been misled.

In what single item of the results is there any indication that the Peace Pact made any difference? In what particular has it differed from, say, the Washington Conference?

To say that we have parity is a mere nothing. Mr. Baldwin conceded that long ago. It was an inevitable concession. But why not upon a much lower basis? Mr. Hoover said it could not be too low so far as he was concerned. It is a pity that he should have to build up to it.

Was it that France was the difficulty? Who, or what is France anyhow? A country which seems unable to achieve a settled Government, whose changes of Cabinet have been kaleidoscopic for years; is it certain that the Government of the hour for all time represents the people?

The churches are not blind to the difficulties; they are only disappointed in their leadership.

I have had much experience in America, and unless I am greatly mistaken, the enthusiastic multitudes who cheered Mr. MacDonald will now shrug their shoulders and say: "I told you so! Europe cannot set herself free from militarism." In that vitiated atmosphere the isolationists may easily swing slightly more than one-third of the Senate to reject the Pact. It is said that Mr. Hoover may hold up the Bill so that it will not come before the Senate until January next. By that time the least ripple of enthusiasm would have died away and the traditional isolationist policy of America would assert itself. They will say: "If parity only, and that with increase, why a treaty at all?"

Meanwhile, the churches stand quite firm upon the joint statement of Rapidan and wait for the leadership which will surely come some day. *The New World*, London, England.

Central Committee of the Macedonian Political Organization of the U. S. A. and Canada

20 So. West Street
Indianapolis, Ind.

Greece celebrates the hundredth anniversary of her independence this year. Committees were formed here and abroad to make arrangements for this occasion. It is the right of every enlightened person to join in the enthusiasm of the Greek people and to be proud of this victory of Liberty which was the result of the sacrifice of thousands of human lives. The documents we have quoted above, show that such sacrifice is justifiable only in exchange for an all comprehensive life of freedom and independence.

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denouncing the protestors, and repudiating their right to criticize an approved University of Chicago course. Undoubtedly the gangsters would assert vociferously that they desired to train young men not *for* murder but *against* it—that the only way to have a peaceful city is to have a citizenry well-armed and well-prepared against the possible hideous onslaughts of all other underworld factions but their own. And undoubtedly they would testify with self-complacent bigotry that "this is one question which does not have two sides."

The analogy is obvious. War is organized murder, and the practice of war, since the signing of the Kellogg Treaty, is a violation of the supreme law of the land, according to the Constitution of the United States. Those who have defended military preparedness and assailed conscientious objectors have used the same specious arguments attributed above to the hypothetical gangsters. If the author of the article entitled "Treacherous Attack on the R. O. T. C." in the *National Defense Magazine* for March 4th, 1930 would attend the University of Chicago and allow himself to be advised "how to think," he might learn several things:

1. Encouragement of free speech, criticism and discussion is the prerogative and obligation of a self-respecting university in a democratic country.

2. Training future citizens of one country in the intimate technique of murder for protection from other countries is, logically speaking, the wrong road to international harmony and national security.

3. Socialists are neither Bolshevists nor militarists but intelligent critics of the present economic system, who decry its evils, among them *war*, and are absolutely pledged to non-violent means for achieving social justice.

4. Brent Dow Allinson is a respected member of the University of Chicago Political Science Research Department. A man with a poet's sensitiveness, a martyr's courage, and a scholar's intellectual power, he represents the finest type of citizen America has produced. He is a passionately humanitarian person, with a burning conviction on the spiritual values of life, who has suffered hardship, pain, and degradation for a deep-rooted ideal. When the War broke out and he was a young man of twenty, with moonlight and laughter and kisses and dreams at his fingertips, he chose not to hide behind his religious scruples for not taking part in this violation of the sixth commandment, but to go to jail and thus make a public issue of his refusal to belong to an hysterical movement which slaughtered ten million men, accomplished nothing it set out to do, and might have been prevented, if the country had not been aroused by dishonest militaristic propaganda.

Brent Dow Allinson, whom John Haynes Holmes has called "a high-minded, pure-hearted young man, eager to give his life to public service, loving the nation for her ideals of liberty and peace . . ." has been denounced by the *National Defense Magazine*; Mahatma Gandhi has been imprisoned by the English authorities; and Jesus Christ was nailed to the cross by a Roman official.

ALICE HAMBURGER.

Chicago, Illinois.

It is unfortunate, however, that at this festive moment we should observe that in one part of Greece, viz., Macedonia, the principle of Liberty has been badly overlooked. The London conference of 1830 stipulated that liberty of national conscience in Greece would be completely guaranteed: that all local citizens irrespective of religious affiliations, would be entitled to public service and would be treated on the basis of equality.

Greece of today does not respect the liberty of national conscience for any of the other nationalities but the Greeks in Macedonia. Since the war the nations of the world are occupied with the liberties of subjected peoples. Numerous international treaties have been made to show that if peace is to be established, the liberties of the nationally oppressed populations should be guaranteed.

By drawing attention to this fact, we, the Macedonians of the United States and Canada, numbering over 45,000 are fulfilling our duty towards truth and humanity. We have left our country against our will because the oppression in Macedonia does away with the conditions of national life. Our country has been divided among Greece, Serbia (so-called Yugoslavia) and Bulgaria. Those who succeeded in finding refuge in the United States and Canada originate mostly from South West Macedonia which is now occupied by Greece. We are very well acquainted with life in contemporary Greece. We have experienced the tyranny and the cruelty of its rule. We are conscious of our origin as Bulgarians, Aroumanians (Kutso-Vlachs) and Turks, and we cannot help but suffer with the ones that have been left behind. Greece is trying to assimilate us.

During the last ten years we have been able to bring out a series of facts to show the unbearable situation in which the Macedonians are forced to live. Since 1912, the year of their transfer to the new masters, they have been deprived of all their churches, schools and cultural institutions. The most elementary rights providing the security of liberal political, cultural and economic advancement have been denied to them. To this must be added the terrorism of the Greek authorities aiming at the forced expatriation of the people. It is a common thing for them to strike down innocent people and to escape punishment for such deeds. Let us mention one instance.

The small villages of Tarlis, Kara-Keuy and Lovtcha of the district of Drama are populated by 750 Bulgarian families and 50 families of Greek refugees from Asia Minor. On July 27, 1923 ten of the Greek Civil Guard under command of Lieutenant Doksakin arrested, illegally, twenty-seven Bulgarian men from the aforementioned villages. These men were bound two by two in order to prevent them from escaping. Seventeen of them were killed, the rest making their escape to the mountains. This appalling incident disgusted public conscience and the League of Nations investigated the case. The International Investigating Committee established the truth of what we just stated.

The protocol of the Committee stated that the authors of this crime were not brought to answer for their deeds and that the families of the victims were not only left in great misery, but were forbidden to approach or claim the bodies for proper burial. The protocol also stated that the Bulgarian population was stricken with fear, which is the cause for its expatriation en masse.

Under this unbearable tyranny, which is even worse than the Turkish was, the Macedonian population has no legal means of securing its rights and so it is forced through revolutionary methods to adopt a system of bombing affairs and political assassinations.

The ideal of Macedonia is to make out of her three parts, one autonomous state in which different nationalities can live brotherly and freely.

The present situation in Macedonia under the Greek authorities shows that Greece has virtually trampled over the fundamental principles of its liberation as embodied in the said protocol of the London conference.

The causes that worked for the enlightenment of the European public opinion through which the liberation of Greece was obtained are more conspicuously in favor of Macedonia today. In view of this existing situation in our country, we are appealing to the public opinion in the United States and Canada to intervene before the Greek government for the fulfillment of its international obligations by applying the clauses of the protocol of the London conference and the other treaties guaranteeing the minority rights of the Macedonians.

Macedonia is anxious to live in peace, and this peace is only possible if she manage her own affairs in an autonomous state.

For permanent peace in Macedonia and the Balkan peninsula, the authoritative intervention of public opinion is indispensable.

To prove what we have stated above, we are prepared to accept an investigation by representatives of the League of Nations or other international institutions.

P. G. Shaneff,
President.

Resolution Adopted by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends

In Session at Fifteenth and Race Streets, May 12th to 16th, 1930

"We believe that the first requisite to make prohibition a working principle in this country is not the assertion of personal freedom in all the details of life, but a fusion of our impulses and desires into the general welfare of society. This constitutes good citizenship.

"Prohibition and its enforcement have a much deeper significance than the mere elimination of liquor drinking. Disregard of any law logically leads to the breaking of other laws and disintegrates the very structure of government. We are convinced that the customer of the bootlegger is equally guilty with the seller and should be subject to the same punishment. The traffic in liquor corrupts the agencies of government, lessens the efficiency of industry, threatens public safety, disorganizes the home. It lowers the whole tone of human life, striking at childhood, youth, maturity and old age. It tends to degrade men's comprehension of the divine spirit.

"Only by cooperation with the forces of order can we do our part in forwarding the divine purpose in the world."

George A. Walton,
Clerk.

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